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Message Text

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SUBJECT:LETTERS TO NEW YORK TIMES ON LIFTING EMBARGO

1. FOLLOWING LETTERS FROM ALTEMUR KILIC, TURKISH DEPUTY UN PERMREP, AND TAYLOR G. BELCHER, FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CYPRUS, WERE PUBLISHED IN APRIL 11 "NEW YORK TIMES".

2. KILIC LETTER. QTE YOUR MARCH 31 EDITORIAL "THE WAY BACK FROM CYPRUS" CONTAINS A BASIC CONTRADICTION. ON THE ONE HAND YOU ADMIT THAT THERE WERE STRONG JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE INTERVENTION BY TURKEY IN JULY 1974, BUT ON THE OTHER YOU APPROVE OF THE TENDENCY WHICH YOU DETECT IN CONGRESS TO INSIST ON CONCESSIONS FROM TURKEY BEFORE THE ARMS RESTRICTIONS ARE LIFTED.
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YOU SEEM TO OVERLOOK THE BASIC FACT THAT IT IS THE EMBARGO DECISION WHICH HAS COMPLICATED THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND HAS RENDERED THE RESOLUTION MORE DIFFICULT. YOU ALSO PRESUME THAT THE UNITED STATES, THORUGH ITS CONGRESS OR GOVERNMENT, HAS THE RIGHT TO PASS A MORAL JUDGMENT ON POLICIES OF AN ALLY AND IF NECESSARY TO APPLY SANCTIONS AGAINST IT, BUT THE

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VERY ESSENCE OF AN ALLIANCE WOULD BE NEGATED IF ONE OF THE MEMBERS WOULD CLAIM THE PREROGATIVE TO ADMONISH AND PUNISH ITS OTHER PARTNERS ON THE BASIS OF UNILATERAL CONCLUSIONS.

YOUR EDITORIAL ERRS AGAIN WHEN IT STRESSES THAT IT WOULD NOT STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE TO APPEASE TURKEY AT THE EXPENSE OF GREECE. WHY SHOULD THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY BE CONSIDERED DETRIMENTAL TO GREECE?

SINCE 1974 OUR GREEK NEIGHBORS HAVE BEEN ARMING THEMSELVES ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE, MOSTLY WITH AMERICAN WEAPONS, AND THEY MAINTAIN THEIR DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. WHAT IS INVOLVED NOW IS JUST THE RESTORATION OF NORMAL MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES AS DICTATED BY THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE. TO SUBORDINATE SUCH AN ESSENTIAL NORMALIZATION TO THE CONSENT OF GREECE IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE.

I THINK A VERY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THIS WHOLE QUESTION IS THIS: IF THE LEADING PARTNER OF THE NATO ALLIANCE SHOULD INSIST ON A LINE OF ACTION WHICH HAS PROVEN TO BE SO COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND SO GROSSLY HARMFUL TO THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE WEST, THE CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD SUFFER EVEN MORE SERIOUSLY IN THE EYES OF TURKEY AND, FOR THAT MATTER, OF OTHER ALLIES.
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3. BELCHER LETTER. QTE THE DECISION OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO TO TURKEY WAS PROBABLY INEVITABLE. THE STAKES ARE TOO HIGH AND MR. ECEVIT KNOWS IT. HE HAS TWICE AS MANY DIVISIONS AS GREECE AND THE PENTAGON BELIEVES WE MUST KEEP THOSE 25 BASES IN TURKEY.

LET'S FACE IT, IN EQUATIONS LIKE THIS, CYPRUS IS A VIRTUAL CIPHER. HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE 200,000 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES WHO HAVE LOST THEIR HOMES AND THEIR LAND COUNT FOR LITTLE IN OUR MUCH-PUBLICIZED CRUSADE FOR THIS WORTHY CONCEPT. THE "REALPOLITIK" OF METTERNICH OR KISSINGER IS WHAT REALLY COUNTS IN THIS DANGEROUS WORLD. PRAGMATISM RULES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, ON THE SEVENTH FLOOR OF STATE AND IN THE OVAL OFFICE. WE CAN AFFORD TO CRUSADE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS--BUT, IT SEEMS, ONLY WHERE THE POLITICAL STAKES ARE NOT TOO HIGH.

IF THE PRO-GREEK FORCES IN CONGRESS DO NOT MANAGE TO STOP THIS INITIATIVE, THEN WE WILL HAVE TO FACE A GREEK

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REACTION QUITE PROBABLY INVOLVING POLITICAL ASCENDANCY FOR ANDREAS PAPANDREOU AND HIS ANTI-NATO,ANTI-U.S. POLICIES. APPARENTLY WE ARE PREPARED TO RUN THIS RISK-- AND THE RISK OF LOSING OUR BASES IN GREECE BUT NOT IN

TURKEY. WE HAVE MADE UP A BALANCE SHEET AND THE BOTTOM LINE COMES OUT IN FAVOR OF TURKEY. I HOPE OUR ABANDONMENT OF PRINCIPLE AND OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL NOT HAUNT US AS WE DRAW UP FURTHER BALANCE SHEETS FOR THE AREA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS STILL A CHANCE THAT THE CONGRESS WILL SEE THE BOTTOM LINE IN DIFFERENT TERMS; AFTER ALL, IT WON'T BE THE FIRST TIME OR THE LAST THAT CONGRESS HAS DISAGREED WITH THE EXECUTIVE.
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HOWEVER, IF THE ADMINISTRATION IS SUCCESSFUL AND THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED, THEN WE SHALL HAVE YET ANOTHER TEST OF TURKISH INTENT IN CYPRUS. IF THIS VERY GRAVE DECISION ON OUR PART RESULTS IN ANOTHER BLANK IN ANKARA AND THERE ARE STILL NO SIGNS OF SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS IN THAT 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND UNDER TURKISH CONTROL, WE SHALL HAVE PAID A VERY HIGH PRICE INDEED. SURELY A REASONABLE COMPROMISE WOULD BE FOR THE CONGRESS TO LIMIT FUTURE ARMS SALES EITHER BY DATE OR AMOUNT, PENDING REASONABLE PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO END THE MILITARY OCCUPATI4N OF 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND AND TO PROVIDE A GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. UNQTE. VANCE

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